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the police are disliked and this attitude is readily transferred to the governmental stereotype constructed out of the individual's experience with law enforcement.

Law and Social Control

The atomistic structure of Kaska society is associated with a complete lack of formal social control beyond that which has been introduced following the absorption of the group into the larger white society. There is a tendency for the people to remain as much as possible aloof from the white man's law or system of justice, interpersonal grievances within the Indian community rarely being brought to the adjudication of white courts. As a result, all cases heard have as their complainants the police, Indian Agent or white men.

The principal individual incentives compelling adult conformity to the Indian and white expectations of behavior are guilt, shame, warnings, precepts, and fear of sanctions. Guilt and shame are inextricably related in patterning conformity to the Indian standard of values, although they are notably weak in making behavior conform to those expectations of the white society that apply to drinking, brewing, trapping, and hunting. Guilt and shame may be identified as conscience or superego pressure. Nitla defined this mechanism well when he said that an individual knows if he does evil. "He know it in his brain. Everything bum. You better stay alone." Conscience may often drive a person to make amends with the individual whom he has offended or it may prompt him to excuse his behavior, blaming it on somebody else. In the case of John Kean, who began living with his brother's wife, strong antipathy and aggression appeared to those people who, he thought with some reason, were criticizing his conduct. On one occasion he tried to alough off responsibility for his actions by laying the blame on Adele, the woman with whom he was living, and even on his brother. Forgiveness does not always erase the pang of conscience, as witness River Joe and Louis Maza the morning after a drinking party that had been accompanied by considerable violence and disorder. Although Mrs. Maza forgave her husband for having hurt her and River Joe was assured that his aggressive behavior had not seriously harmed anyone, both men appeared extremely shy and discomfited. They protested to the ethnographer how "sorry" they felt about the fracas which they had begun. In general, however, the Kaska superego does not seem harsh. Once the situation of default is past, the offense tends to be quickly forgotten. No evidence was adduced of a lingering sense of guilt (although it was looked for) nor of the long persistence of any need for atonement or expiation.

Rather slight effort is made within the native community to induce adult social conformity by means of warnings and precepts, although the missionaries and police make stronger use of this technique. The priest frequently warns Indians of imminent police and supernatural sanctions, while the police threaten suspected wrongdoers with fine and arrest. Because of the reluctance of an Indian to interfere in another person's business, warnings and advice are entirely limited to relatives and close friends. River Joe was afraid to exert himself in the relationship of John Kean and Nitla's wife, for fear that word of his interference would reach the Lower Pelly River tribe to which Adele belonged and whose members would then be "down" on him. Louis Maza also emphasized his powerlessness in this direction. "I can't say nothing, That not my business. I never tell nobody what to do." One of the main reasons for such lack of interference is the fear of arousing resentment and

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626 157 hostility, but it also seems to spring from the individual's personal desire to be left alone; hence he respects another's privacy. Such attitudes, however, do not always inhibit gossip, which is derived from latent antagonism or which sometimes functions as a vehicle of social control.

681 626 The chief sanctions imposed by the Indian community include gossip, ostracism, and supernaturally derived insanity. Fine and arrest are the formal sanctions imposed by the white society. Gossip is the common result of failure to share grub and capital goods or control aggression, and also follows adultery. Since gossip is also an expression of interpersonal hostility, its functions are wider than social control. As might be expected, the dual uses of gossip succeed in complicating its utility as a means of social control. That is to say, people often use gossip more as a retaliatory device than as a sanction, and this in turn arouses antagonism in the wrongdoer even when it leads to a modification of behavior.

626 183 Ostracism is an ideal sanction which in practice tends to be avoided for fear of giving too direct offense to a defaulter. Nitla vouched for this ideal pattern when he said that an aggressive person, one who is "too much mean, swear, cranky," will be avoided by the people. "Nobody look after that kind of man. Everybody he don't want him." A man who becomes aggressive under alcohol may be quietly left out of a drinking party, although nobody would refuse an invitation to share his brew. On the other hand, if the offensive person appears on the scene of a beer drink, there is no way to prevent him from joining the group.

681 825 Insanity and deformity are supernaturally derived sanctions which are popularly feared to follow infractions of moiety exogamy and other forms of incest. Insanity is also believed to occur: "If you think about girl too much . . . If you want to play with girl too much."

626 158 697 Fines are feared not so much because they deprive one of wealth than because they involve appearance in court and expose the individual to questioning and public censure. Arrest is the most dreaded sanction, and this fear is reinforced by the frequently repeated story of one of River Joe's sons. Several years ago the youth was arrested on the complaint of a white man for a marital offense. Found guilty, he was sent to prison for one year. The incarceration is widely supposed to have affected him mentally, although other reports blame his subsequent break-down on a too intense interest in girls. At any rate, upon his release from prison, the young man showed psychotic reactions and once more had to be removed from the area for confinement. He is still a patient in a mental hospital near Vancouver. This incident is very much in the memory of the people and helps to confirm the strong fear of arrest. Nobody was jailed during the period of field work, one reason for this being the lack of jail facilities in Lower Post. In 1945, however, a jail was built in the town and the constable is reported to have promised that it would be readily used if necessity demanded. Imprisonment outside of the area is reserved for serious crimes involving sentences of a year or more.

68 [836] [738] Offenses against life and the person are rare. Premarital sexuality, especially when it occurs among sixteen and seventeen year olds, could be construed as a crime according to national law but tends to be ignored by the police (who would have difficulty securing evidence), and is not regarded as a serious offense by Indians. In the past, one or two girls at McDame Creek have been sent to reform school for pronounced sexual delinquency.

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served between Louis and his wife, Allie. Perhaps because she was herself partially intoxicated, Allie showed no fear when her drunken husband began to beat her. Several times she half-heartedly ran away. Once Louis caught her by the hair, knocked her to the ground, and began to punch her with his fists. With some effort the ethnographer and Old Man succeeded in separating the couple. Allie still stood her ground, and only with difficulty could she be urged to run away.

All open expression of hostility is socially condemned. Since alcohol is understood as causing most aggressive behavior, there is a feeling that individuals prone to violence are not good drinkers. As we have shown, this idea does not lead to the realistic exclusion of such men from drinking situations. Once the aggressive person returns to sobriety, he strongly regrets his behavior.

Intergroup Relations

Relations between Kaska speaking Indians and non-Kaska people are generally restricted. The greatest amount of such interaction is carried on with Tahltan, Bear Lake, and Tselo-na neighbors; also with the whites. Most of the Kaska have heard of the Pelly River Indians to the north, but interaction between these two groups is rare.

Socially patterned attitudes toward Indian groups who reside outside of the Kaska area are characterized by an ethnocentrism which is expressed mainly in unfavorable opinions and is most strongly directed against the Tahltan. Least does it influence relations with the nearby Sekani tribes, into which considerable marriage has occurred. While Kaska judgements of their neighbors tend to extol the ingroup, any direct expression of ingroup exaltation is rarely heard.

It is commonly felt that the Tahltan Indians are too aggressive, while the latter people in turn look down on the Kaska as uncouth "bush Indians." The Tahltan, as Old Man pointed out, in their attitude toward the Kaska are influenced by the memory of their ancestors fighting these more northern Indians. Mildred Lang expressed a typical attitude toward the Telegraph Creek people when she said: "Too many Tahltans here. They're too tough. Fight too much." She also resented two local dwelling Tahltan families as being too "high toned," i.e., they tried to maintain a social exclusiveness which sometimes led to directly snubbing certain Kaska Indians, including herself. River Joe indicated that marriage between Tahltan and Kaska people is to be discouraged. The few marriages of this type, however, seem to be well established. On another occasion, when River Joe was intoxicated, he is reported to have become openly abusive of the Tahltan, claiming that they had no right to live in Kaska country. To the ethnographer he said that the Telegraph Creek Indians always get into fights when they have been drinking. The tenacity of Kaska attitudes toward these neighbors may be gauged from the fact that in 1945 a local restaurant lost considerable trade when the management was given to a Tahltan family. Although no organized boycott occurred, many Kaska kept their promise not to spend money in that place. Our evidence thus corroborates what Morice saw around 1900, when he wrote: "Even to this day the Kaska resent the Tahltan's assumed or real superiority, and will not be confounded with them as co-members of the same tribe."[22]

[22] Morice, *The Nah-ane and their Language* (1900-03), 520.

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to tease the boy saying that the latter was "keeping it like old times" by sharing his wife with a brother. This brought out laughter. Another example was manifested when Peter Tom and Richard Day returned from several hours of fishing with only a two inch sucker. Richard said: "We caught a whale," and held up the insignificant prize. One evening Taku Indian visitors from Teslin Lake arrived in the post. Old Man promoted laughter when he said: "You come a long way. When you're up to fifty you won't do that." The reference was to himself and his own weakening capacities.

Humor may also function as a social sanction or as a means of expressing displeasure. For this purpose a joke is sometimes employed by an old man desiring to censure youth. Old Kean one day exclaimed: "In old days used to be sing. Young boys sing—like bull moose. This time young boys just run around like hell; run around all night!" The same sanctioning quality in humor may be noted in the designation of the pilfering whiskey-jack (or Canada jay) as "Hudson Bay bird." On another occasion the provincial policeman had come upon a number of intoxicated men. After the official had retired Old Man promised that soon he would prepare a big brew. Before people drank it, however, he would post a big sign at the entrance to the western Indian Reserve warning the police to keep out under penalty of provoking trouble.

A final function of humor is its use to blunt the sting of an emotional situation in which the individual feels discomfited or embarrassed. In such situations the discomfort may be so great as to interfere with the quick juxtaposition of two incompatible ideas—the principle on which Kaska jokes rest. The missionary one day asked Old Man why he didn't go to church. Old Man replied: "If I go to church I don't get any younger!"

It will be noted that all of these functional types of humor contain what may be called an element of incongruity, only the content of the joke being selected for the function. The juxtaposition of two incongruous ideas, or the appreciation of an incongrous situation, are the sources of most Kaska humor. Incongruity provokes laughter in the appearance of a boy with close cropped hair, and in the designation of a small child as "grandmother." Incongruity is the spring for the age jokes which are so easy and popular. An example of the latter comes from Nick Lang talking to an elderly man. Nick pointed to himself as an old man while his companion was described as a youth. Incongruity determined Old Kean's laughter, when the ethnographer read him the low prices for staples advertised in an Edmonton newspaper. It is also the root of the popular Athapaskan joke in which a man teases a boastful hunter saying that the latter could only kill a porcupine, one of the easiest animals to capture. One day Eva Ardo told Old Man that he spoke too slowly. The latter promptly replied: "I'm no machine!" and aroused a storm of laughter. Seeing a young man carrying a newly purchased packboard Old Man stopped and said: "What you packing? You're not a horse. What for you got saddle?" This was regarded as quite funny. Another incongruous picture is presented by adolescent girls parading with young men's broad brimmed Stetsons. The mechanism also determines the laughter which Indians are quick to direct against the mispronounciation of their language by a white man. Non-sexual exhibitionism, which provokes laughter, may also be interpreted in the light of incongruity. Old men are fond of approaching a group and shouting convenient nonsense in a loud voice. This always provokes a laugh. Similar behavior appears in the incident of Nitla

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Following birth the baby is not fed for one day and is then put to the mother's breast. 846
The parturient usually remains in bed for four days to a week, and during this period her husband or grown daughters take over the household duties. In summer a mother may be seen carrying her infant through town within two weeks after delivery and by this time she has also resumed most of her customary duties (Plate 4, c).

Children born out of wedlock or conceived in adulterous sexual relations are regarded 848
as illegitimate. All illegitimacy is deplored, but the incidence of premarital motherhood appears to be quite low. The child of an unmarried mother may be cared for by the girl herself or entrusted to the care of grandparents. Once illegitimate children are grown, their status is not different from that of other persons and no evidence of discrimination against them could be observed.

The only two cases observed of extreme rejection of infants involved illegitimate chil- 848
dren. Irene Wiley gave birth to Irma a short time after she had been deserted by her hus- 854
band, who disapproved of her promiscuity. She did not want the infant, neglected its feeding and care, and often abandoned it in her mosquito tent for long periods while she went riding with soldiers. One cold night in August, 1944, Irene's father's brother's wife found the eight months old baby uncovered and so cold that it had to be washed with warm water. Although news of this incident reached the police, who publicly reprimanded the [626]
mother at a dance, Irene did not improve her care of the infant. Commenting on the child Louis Maza once observed: "That baby raise himself. Nobody take care of him. Mother don't care. Never change him . . . Some people tough. Me, I can't do that." River Joe, Irene's paternal uncle, said: "My heart sick I hear that baby cry. Sometime I take care of him." The extent of his care, so far as could be observed, consisted of occasionally feeding Irma sugar cookies. In 1945, when Irma was about two years old and retarded in her development, Irene began to manifest somewhat more attention toward the child.

A second instance of a young mother neglecting her newborn illegitimate infant oc- 848
curred after the *métisse* woman's husband had refused to permit her to keep the child. 851
Although the putative father, a married man, was easily identifiable, no effort was made to 854
induce this man to accept responsibility. Instead both parents left the baby in a tent at Lower Post while they went to visit friends two hundred miles up Dease River. The child was subsequently cared for by the mother's sister and later somewhat reluctantly adopted [547]
by its maternal grandmother. For her behavior the mother is reported to have been censured [626]
by the Indian Agent during his visit to Lower Post.

Children are usually named soon after birth, a Christian saint's name being decided 553
upon by the parents or suggested by the missionary if the baby is brought for baptism. Sometimes naming is neglected for several months after birth. If, during this time, a friend suggests an appropriate name it will be adopted by one or the other parent. Thus the ethnographer named Nitla's baby during the summer of 1945. In addition to a formal personal name, a family occasionally coins a nick-name for a child, but the range of such names is limited. Two common English nicknames are Boss and Piggy.

Children born in Lower Post are usually brought to the mission a few weeks after birth 851
for baptism. The ceremony is little emphasized by the parents and is often delayed until the matter is pressed upon their attention by the priest.

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156 x181 strates tact. An individual realizes his own resistance to authoritarianism and projects a similar feeling into others. He knows that domination must be avoided, because it is likely to produce rebellion or hostility.

156 578 x181 The most direct expression of deference is found in the exclusion of face to face quarrels. When a situation becomes too intense and anger has been provoked, women, particularly, often escape the consequences of such provocation by running away. Sometimes, as further illustrated in connection with humor, a joke is conceived in order to relieve a situation of emotional stress. All escape from potential hostility is regarded as intelligent behavior. Actually, remarkably little quarreling or violence characterizes Kaska interpersonal relations. The avoidance of violence is well illustrated in the case of Nitla, Adele, and John Kean, to which several references have already been made. In this marital triangle, Nitla felt considerable hostility toward his brother, but took no direct action against him: Many societies are known in which a husband's violence could safely be predicted for an affair of this kind.[37]

156 x181 ●626 To avoid aggression, people also avoid any direct criticism outside of the immediate family, instead expressing disapproval in gossip. Obviously the need of controlling direct criticism and the substitution of malicious gossip makes for hypocrisy, which is potentially dangerous, since it may also lead to ill feeling and recriminations. For this reason gossip is carefully controlled. Most people when sober are extremely reluctant to gossip, the most consistent manifestation of such behavior coming from older men. Fear of creating offense and trouble is one reason why Indians will rarely report community delicts to the police. Old Kean said that even if he found a dead body in the bush, he would never report it to law enforcement authorities. The absence of sadistic and malicious humor is a further instance of cultural organization toward the goal of deference. Only rarely does humor function toward social control, and then not with the aim of singling out an individual for criticism but rather a group—such as youth. Here, apparently, safety is perceived in number and generality.

156 x181 578 The unformalized patterns which we have just described are all directed toward the end of forestalling overt hostility and violence. In addition, we have attitudes decrying aggression. For example, there is no admiration for might and power. The grizzly bear is clearly powerful, but he is the most feared animal in the Cassiar and a common feature of socially patterned anxiety dreams. Because of his very strength, which leads him to court danger by attacking people, the grizzly bear lacks intelligence. Indians fear him exactly as they fear any hostile person who can cause trouble and injury. Aggressive people are regarded as somewhat "crazy" and there is ideally a strong belief that such troublemakers are better locked up or removed from the society. Above all, hostilely disposed people must not be offended; still they are admired by no one.

x156 x181 Opinions about the second World War, which terminated during the period of field work, offer another insight into the expression of deference in ideas. Nitla resented any ex-

[37] See, for comparison, Elwin, *Maria Murder and Suicide* (1943), particularly pp. 116–117. The entire book presents descriptions of behavior in striking contrast to that which we are here describing for the Kaska. Obviously, it would be extremely valuable to know something about the basic motivations to which the Bison Horn Maria's violence is related.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Tselona, Espatotena
Frances Lake
Upper Liard

616 *Tselona.* Dichotomous social organization appears to have been absent among the Tselona or Nelson Indians and even today most of these people cannot identify with either exogamous division, except as they adopt a conventional designation following marriage with a woman from one of the western tribes. The fact that one informant from this group affirmed the presence of moieties may indicate his familiarity with the pattern rather than its adoption by the easterly people.

Espatotena. Jenness reports absence of dual organization on the South Nahani and Beaver rivers.[21]

Frances Lake Kaska. Two moieties, the Wolf and Crow, were probably present aboriginally in the Frances Lake area as they are today.[22]

SOCIAL PRESSURE—LAW AND WAR

626 In this section we propose to discuss the social pressure exerted upon members of the community who departed from expected norms of behavior as well as the pressure exercised upon or by outsiders. The first type of pressure includes behavior usually called customary law, while the second corresponds to war. Norms governing property relations and interpersonal conduct will be presented along with the description of the sanctions available for enforcing those norms.

471 423 *Upper Liard Kaska.* With the exception of beaver creeks, the microcosmic band did not enjoy exclusive ownership rights to any territory. In other words no family-hunting-ground system existed in the aboriginal period. Indians felt free to hunt or fish anywhere within "their own country," i.e., the territory customarily inhabited by the macrocosmic band. Generally a man avoided those regions which he knew another family to be currently exploiting. Each family (it is not clear if extended family is implied) controlled its own beaver streams, ownership of these residing in the man, although the [591] entire family shared in the resources. Marriages did not secure new beaver grounds for the husband, who had the choice of returning to his parents' creek to hunt or of taking the animals on his father-in-law's territory. The former pattern seems unlikely because it would result in bilocal residence, a pattern to which informants did not allude. The informant (O) maintained strongly that family control of beaver streams antedated [555] white contact. Ownership was symbolically expressed in the custom of naming such creeks.[23] Other property marks were denied. The development of possessory rights with

George Adsit.) Jenness echos Teit in speaking of a tripartite class structure featuring nobles, commoners, and slaves for the Tahltan. Children of the slaves retained the status of their parents but commoners could raise their rank by potlatching. Jenness, *Indians of Canada* (1932), 373.

[21] Jenness, *Indians of Canada* (1932), 399.

[22] For information of dichotomous grouping north of Frances Lake see above, p. 85.

[23] McLean reports that among the Mackenzie River Slave "the hunter who first finds a beaver lodge claims it as his property, but his claim is not always respected." (McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory* [1932], 343). Among the Pelly River people "each Indian has his own beaver country where he can go at any time and get his dinner, as the beaver, if not disturbed, will stay for years in one place or close in that neighborhood. He arrives at his beaver country to find some one has been before him and not only taken his dinner but also his money in the shape of the beaver skins, and if he catches the man that did it as a rule there is trouble of some kind. This is how

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Upper Liard

clear at this point whether the informant meant to describe an ideal or manifest pattern. The murderer's escape from the area brought about an at least temporary halt in proceedings. Instead of seeking retaliation the family of the slain man might, through a kindly disposed headman, press for the adoption of the murderer in place of the victim. This may have occurred when the two were both young and of about the same age. The murderer's family always put pressure upon its member to accede to such a request. He then grew up as the son in the other family, and appropriate kinship terms defined his position (X). No punishment existed for attempted suicide. Cannibalism, a practice apparently regarded as habit-forming, earned banishment and, as a further consequence, death by starvation. People were dissuaded from sorcery by the logical argument that the deed would result in insanity. Interpersonal punishment for sorcery was not mentioned by informants. Similar magical retaliation followed incest, but public opinion dealt very harshly with those members of the community who committed incestuous offenses. Overwhelmed by shame and guilt in such circumstances, an unhappy man might tear off his penis or leap into the fire. Most grievous of all was incest between brother and sister.

A brother wanted his married sister but couldn't get her. He went one day to hunt beaver with the girl's husband. This man had a premonition that he was going to be attacked and the sister dreamed of her brother assaulting her husband. The brother succeeded in wounding his brother-in-law after which he returned to the dwelling with a beaver. The girl refused to eat the meat until her husband would return. When he didn't come back soon, she started out to look for him. She found him lying wounded at the beaver house. After treating his wounds she asked him to kill her brother, which he did.

An unwed mother felt ashamed when she brought forth a child. Sometimes, especially in summer, the community further punished the offense by forcing the girl into a month's exile, during which she subsisted mainly by clubbing porcupines. People intended the punishment to teach her sense and prevent repetition of such behavior. If they knew the baby's father, pressure might be placed on him to marry the mother. Such a marriage would not long endure, it was believed, because a girl who became impregnated outside of marriage was too wild to make a good wife. The lover might also give a small gift to the girl's father, thus acknowledging his offense. An illegitimate baby was fairly well treated if it survived the mother's banishment.[37] People recalled its status, however, and in later years a man might be taunted with the appelation xiina ("slave"). Such jeers rankled and sometimes led a man to fight his detractors.

An unfaithful wife and her paramour ideally shared in the condemnation of adultery. Generally, direct punishment fell on the woman alone. In the presence of an economy that forced men to leave their wives in camp while they hunted, plenty of opportunity for adultery existed. Chronic jealousy and suspicion haunted husbands. Returning to camp some men closely inspected the spruce brush in the dwelling. Should they find it "tipped over" or upset, evidence of the woman's unfaithfulness was presumed. Punishment for adultery consisted in beating the guilty wife or divorcing her, with resultant

[37] Among the Tlingit the killing of an illegitimate baby by stuffing its mouth with moss or grass had magical repercussions. If neglected "very bad luck will follow the family, or clan." Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 45.

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Upper Liard

684 shame for both the woman and her family. A husband did not challenge his wife's lover but a woman who knew of her husband's infidelity attacked the other woman both verbally and physically. Folktales, such as the one describing a jealous husband cutting off an adulterous woman's leg below the thigh, highlighted the seriousness of the offense.

837 Mention of a chastity belt crops up in an anecdote which the informant did not believe to be true. It concerns a husband who prior to leaving for a hunt secured a rawhide line between his wife's legs to prevent her from having sexual relations during his absence.

687 Treason met with no punishment except that a traitor was not allowed to fight the enemy. He could, however, pack for the military expedition.

688 Violation of food and other avoidances did not so much result in the application of direct punishment as they led to fear of magical retribution. Reasoned arguments following from culturally standardized premises dissuaded people from breaking these taboos, and hence exemplify a particular type of social pressure.[38] Fear of punishment by ghosts for injuries done to people in their lives also represents a sentiment limiting conduct.[39]

624 In summary we can say that socially approved punishment in pre-contact Kaska life consisted chiefly of unfavorable public opinion, exile, fines, and blood revenge. The 681 latter two sanctions were reserved for offenses against life. Nobody explicitly enjoyed 182 the power to impose punishment on behalf of the total community. Hence most social pressure was informal or individualized. It should be clear that negative pressures did not exhaust the techniques for maintaining equilibrium in the social system. Potlatching, affinal ties, games, and minor rituals undoubtedly played their parts in preserving harmonious social relations.

648 War represented group retaliation for offenses committed by relative strangers upon members of the community. Since military revenge in turn promoted the desire for fresh vengeance on the opposite side antagonism between the Upper Liard Kaska and their neighbors tended to be chronic. The prevalent state of intertribal mistrust is well illustrated in the discomfort and frank suspicion aroused by any stranger. The Nakani and Nahani complexes, with their initial bound form indicating "enemy" or "hostile," reflect these states of anxiety and hostility. Informants refused to regard the Nakani as supernatural but applied the term to Indians with whom the Kaska had little contact, that is, "strange" Indians who raided people and stole women. The term Nakani applied particularly to the Cree (teciina, a word deriving from the root for "tree") who hid in the bush with rifles waiting for an opportunity to abduct women.

Fighting occurred between the Upper Liard Indians and the people of Teslin Lake (probably the Taku), Pelly River, Espatotena, and, of course, the Cree Indians. Warfare with the Tahltan was denied by one man (O), who stated that prior to contact the Kaska had traded with the Tahltan, so how could they have fought as enemies? His argument holds only for the relatively recent prehistoric period. It is not applicable to an earlier period, when the Tahltan were not yet middlemen in the trade originating west of the

[38] Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (1945), 53–55. For further information about avoidances see below, pp. 108–110.

[39] See below, pp. 136–137.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Dease River

from beating to killing. Injuries inflicted in quarrels demanded settlement by payment. To avoid blood vengeance in the event of murder the murder's family might accumulate many valuables, like skins, robes, and clothing, for presentation to the victim's kin. Even intertribal wars with the Tahltan could sometimes be avoided by offering valuables. A cannibal found himself banished from the community for as long as two years. Ostracism also greeted a couple guilty of incest, an offense covering sexual relations between members of a common moiety. Magical retribution further promised to hasten the death of such people.[43] A folk tale explains that men were likely to find their sisters sexually attractive because of an incident that had occurred very long ago. There once lived a man who left his two wives (they were sisters) and his children, killed his brother-in-law, and copulated with his widowed sister. The deserted wives killed the incestuous couple with the approval of the husband's brother, who said, "My brother did evil and acted like a dog."[44] An adulterous wife suffered a beating but a man had to be careful not to inflict serious injury or his behavior would constitute a crime punishable by the parents-in-law, who might demand an indemnity. A woman could divorce a philandering husband. The extent to which marital jealousy was developed is suggested in the tale of "The Deserted Woman."[45] A woman became suspected of infidelity because she offered her husband grease that she had found. The man, believing that the grease represented payment from a lover, burned his wife's clothing and tools and deserted her, expecting that she would die of cold and starvation. She managed to survive until two brothers discovered and married her. Subsequently she refused to return to her cruel husband. Illegitimacy disgraced both a mother and, later, the child.

Intergroup attitudes are reflected in the Nakani fear. The term designates a "bad Indian," who is given to lurking in the bush as he waits for an opportunity to steal girls. Victims of such an attack were never recovered but were taken to the abductor's tribe to become his wives. Dease River informants asserted as confidently as upper Liard River speakers that a Nakani represented a flesh and blood Indian rather than a supernatural being. The chronic insecurity marking intertribal relations sometimes exploded into war, resentment over encroachment of territories by foreigners being a common motive for fighting.[46] Many engagements were recalled between the Kaska and Tahltan. Ideally the fighting began when an enemy party raided a Kaska encampment, stealing women and killing the men. Inevitably relatives or friends discovered the crime and

[43] George Adsit reported that the Tahltan punished incest by death. On one occasion a guilty couple fled from their band and ascended a small salmon creek. Here, surrounded by an abundance of food, they raised two children before their people discovered them and killed the whole family.

[44] Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 459–460.

[45] Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 455–457.

[46] Morice speaks of feuds over hunting grounds dividing the Tahltan and Kaska. (Morice, *Nah-ane and Their Language* [1900–1903], 520.) The entry of white trappers into the Cassiar also met with resentment. "The Casca Indians have the greatest objection to white men trapping on their own account in their country; gold dust they can take as much as they like, but the fur is the Indian's equivalent for gold and must be left for the Indian. They are very firm on this point—so much so that a couple of white men who were trapping on the Liard some years ago were killed by the Indians because they refused to let the fur alone." Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 112.